



English
Gothic
1715-24

THE

MUSEUM:

OR, THE

Literary and Historical

REGISTER.

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Of the Origin of ESSAY-WRITING.



REASON and Experience agree in teaching us, that in respect to all kinds of Science, and every different Branch of Learning, Men begin with what is easiest, and arrive by Degrees at that Perfection which cannot be attained but by adhering to a proper Method. We see and know this to be true with respect to Poetry, History, and

the Arts ; we may therefore presume, that it is no less true of other literary Compositions ; and therefore, when we enquire into the Origin of Moral and Philosophical Discourses, there can be nothing more rational than to suppose the most easy and natural Way of Writing, was that which was first in use.

To

To make Choice of a Subject, to write down one's Thoughts upon it just as they spring up in the Mind, to add to these what we recollect to have heard others say upon the same Topic, and to intermix Sentences, Verses, Fables, historical Instances, Allegories, and such like, will appear to whoever considers the Thing in a proper Light, and independent of that critical Taste, which is universally allowed to have been unknown in early Times, as easy and natural a Way of Writing as any. The Conclusion I would draw from hence is, that we have probable Grounds to persuade us, that no kind of writing in Prose, is of a more ancient Date than this of *Essays*, respect being had to the Manner of Composition only; for it must be confessed that the Title and the reviving of them ought to be attributed to the Moderns.

We will next enquire how far this Notion may be justified from the Historical Records of Learning, and this I presume will add Evidence to Conjecture, and obtain Credit as for a Fact, instead of that Probability, with which the bare Supposition was attended. We very well know that as these Western and Northern Parts derived all their Knowledge from the *Greeks*; so the *Greeks* were in like Manner indebted for theirs to the Eastern Nations; for thus much, the *Greeks* themselves confess; and their Vanity was so great, that nothing but an entire Conviction could have forc'd them to such a Confession. Let us see then what we can find of this sort among these Parents of Learning.

It is universally allowed, that independent of their Claim to Inspiration, the Books of the Old Testament are the oldest that are extant, and amongst these perhaps there is none more ancient than the *Proverbs*. In this I follow the Opinion of the learned *Grotius*, who thinks, that as the Writings of *Solomon* were carefully collected by the Command of his Successor *Hezekiah*, so the *Proverbs* of *Solomon* were originally a Collection made by him out of much earlier Writers; and if so, this will go a great Way towards proving what I have asserted. For that Book opens with an Observation of the same kind, and with a Display of the Usefulness of this way of Writing in detach'd Thoughts; and several very fine Things are therein said upon the Subject.

The Method that has been taken for the Sake of Uniformity, and a Facility of citing particular Passages, by dividing this Book into *Chapters* and *Verses*, hinders us from seeing what would be otherwise very apparent, that it is in a great measure *A Collection of Essays*. But however, this

is in part so very visible, that I think the Truth of it cannot be denied. The *Palace of Wisdom* and the *House of Pleasure*, are, at least in my Judgment, evident Essays; and perhaps I should not exceed the Truth in advancing, that from thence was taken the Hint of the *Vision of Hercules*, and other allegorical Pieces of the same Nature. I might say the same thing of the Panegyrick on the *middle State of Life*, or the Happiness of being equally removed from Poverty and Riches; the Character of a *virtuous Woman*, and other Pieces in that Collection.

ECCLESIASTES, which is also attributed to the same Author, is plainly an Essay, which might be very well intitled *An Enquiry after Happiness*. It is more Methodical, as it is a single Piece, but for all that, has been esteemed very difficult to understand, and for that Reason, some Doubts were raised in ancient Times, about the admitting it into the *Canon*, because of the great Freedom of Thought that reigns throughout the whole, and in that Respect renders it so unlike most of the other Books in the sacred Code. But consider'd in the Light of an Essay, intended to shew the Weakness of human Understanding in distinguishing and pursuing *true Happiness*, all those Difficulties are in a great measure taken away, and it appears at once a very useful and a very pious Treatise; and this therefore is the Light in which the most learned and judicious Commentators have considered it. In this Light it was looked upon by the ingenious Mr. Prior, whose Poem is perhaps as good a Commentary, and lets the Reader as truly into the Sense of the Original, as any that hitherto has appeared on that celebrated Work.

The *Wisdom of SOLOMON*, and the *Wisdom of the Son of SIRACH*, are, as their Titles very plainly shew, Copies after the great Originals before mentioned, and consequently ought to be regarded as Collections of Moral Essays; and tho' there might be good Reasons for placing them in the *Apocrypha*; yet, I think, the Church of England has also very good Reasons on her Side, for directing them to be read for the Information and Edification of the People. I remember, it was an Observation made to me by an eminent Free-thinker, not long deceased, that these were the very best Books he ever read; and that he wonder'd they were not more generally known and esteem'd, since they contain'd as much sound Sense and close Reasoning, as any of the Works of the *Greek Philosophers*, that have been so long, and are still so universally studied and applauded.

If we had any profane Writings of the Eastern Sages that approach'd these in point of Antiquity, I make no doubt that they would furnish me with fresh Arguments in support of my Assertion, viz. That Essay-Writing was the Invention of the earliest Times ; but it so falls out that we have none, and therefore nothing can be advanc'd upon this Head but from Conjecture. There are indeed some Fragments preserv'd of an ancient *Phœnician* History, in which it is recorded, that the King of *Tyre* and the Wise *Solomon* were wont to exchange Writings of this sort between them, in which they solv'd Enigma's, explain'd Parables, and discussed Questions in various Branches of Literature. The Accounts we have of the *Travels* of *Solon*, and the Banquets of the first *Sages of Greece*, in which they took more Care of feeding their Minds, than gratifying their Appetites, is also favourable to my Notion ; and perhaps it would not be very difficult to add some other Proofs of a like Nature, to these ; but I hasten to another Argument, which I think more pertinent, at least, if not more conclusive.

We know that the Eastern Nations have a great Steadiness of Manners, and are very little apt to vary in their Customs. If therefore we can prove, that in later Times they have very much affected this kind of Writing, it will be a very strong Presumption, that it was in ancient Use amongst them. In respect to this I might observe, that the Works of *Confucius* and other *Chinese* Philosophers, of which any Specimens have been brought into *Europe*, are entirely in this Taste ; but perhaps it will be more for my Purpose, since Antiquity had little or no Knowledge of *China* and its Inhabitants, to shew the same Thing as to other Eastern Nations. In the first Place then I shall take Notice, that the learned Dr. *Hyde*, in his excellent Book of the *Religion of the ancient Persians*, has given us several Titles and some Extracts from the Works of *Zerdisht* or *Zoroaster*, which plainly shew that he wrote Essays upon various Subjects. There was an ancient King of *Persia*, who compos'd for the Use of his Successors and Subjects a famous Treatise, which is still preserved and universally admir'd in the East, under the Title of the *Wisdom of Kings*, which strongly resembles the Works of *Solomon*, and is no more than Essays upon several important Subjects. There is another Work written originally in *Persian* by *Saadi*, a celebrated Poet, who was a Native of *Schiras*, intitled *GULISTAN*, or the *Garden of Roses*, which is also a Collection of Essays ; and I mention it the rather, because it is well known to the learned World by the *Latin*

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Translation of it published by *Gentius*, under the Title of *Rosarium Politicum*. How this Kind of Writing was transplanted from the Climates of the East into *Greece*, how deep Root it took, and how it flourish'd there, may possibly, if this should be well receiv'd, become the Subject of another Paper.

March 9th, 1746-7.

PHILO.

To the Keeper of the MUSEUM.

S I R,

THERE is not, I have thought, any one kind of Writing, that wou'd be of more general use to Mankind, than the *Drawing of Characters*: but to do this well, requires so very Rational an Understanding, and such an enlarged Acquaintance with Life, that I do not wonder it has employed fewer Pens than any other Subject in the whole Compas of Literature. Our Neighbours the *French*, are much more successful than ourselves in these Attempts, at least, have seen more good Writers of the sort; for the *Ethic* Pieces of our great Countryman Mr. *Pope*, will challenge the Preference from every thing of this kind in all Languages; and Dr. *Young's Universal Passion* has likewise upon the whole a very distinguish'd Merit. It is not that Encouragement is wanting to the Adventurers in this Province: we are ready to grant as much Fame as the vainest Temper cou'd demand, to any successful Endeavour: The *Travels of Joseph Andrews* have been admitted into the best Company, been read and admired by the most elegant Judges, for the just Representation of certain Characters, tho' they are chiefly taken from the lowest Life. We are content to follow Parson *Trulliber* into his Hog-Sty, or Mrs. *Torwouse* into her Ale-house, and think ourselves sufficiently repaid for our Condescension, if we are made to laugh by a just Description of these dirty Scenes. But hitherto I have not mentioned the Stage, where, as it professes in the Motto on its Curtain to hold up *Speculum Vita*, the Looking-Glass of Life, one might naturally expect to see the true Manners of Men set to View, and be able to apply the fictitious Characters on the Stage, to certain of our Acquaintance in real Life. But alas! there are so few Plays recte moratæ (as

Horace

Horace calls it) so few that preserve this Propriety of Manners, and fetch their *Dramatis Personæ* from Nature, that we often sit amazed at the Scene that is playing before us, and wonder whence the Poet cou'd possibly draw such unlike, disproportioned, monstrous *Caricaturas*, rather than Characters of Men. I can readily allow the Necessity there is of heightening Characters a little to make them strike, and know very well that the Generality of People, like the Inhabitants of *Laputa*, want a *Flapper* to awaken their Attention; but surely this Liberty should not more than any other be carried into Licentiousness. A Villain in a Tragedy is usually so blackened over with Crimes, that one is frighten'd at the Picture; and a Beau in a Comedy so unmercifully dizen'd out with Foppery, that we nauseate before half the Play is over, and grow sick of so much Affectation. It should seem as if our Tragedies endeavoured to soar as high, and our Comedies to sink as low as possible: the one are all Rant and Bloodshed; the other all Filth and Buffoonry. No sooner does a Tragedian take Pen in Hand, but immediately the Man is inspired, *Odit profanum vulgus & arceat*, he disdains all Commerce with common Life, he is to treat of Heroes and Kings and Demigods, and what not fine Things? Eagles are to perch on *Alexander's* Beaver, and Gods are to *justle one another in the Dark*. Might not one apply to this Set of Writers, that very beautiful Passage in *Lord Shaftsbury* upon a mad Hero, who was as much misled by the Power of Fancy, as the maddest Poet can possibly be? "The Sound of Victory rings in their Ears, Lawrels and Crowns play before their Eyes: what is this beside Giddiness and Dream? Appearances unconnected, Worlds dancing, Phantoms playing, Seas of Milk, and Ships of Amber? Or if you like *Mr. Bay's* Imagery better in the *Rehearsal*, "gilded Truncheons, forc'd Conceits, smooth Verse and "Rant." A very just Picture this of modern Tragedy! which, as *Mr. Cibber* properly observes in his Preface to the *Provoked Husband*, is too often written in a *lofty Disregard of Nature*: As if Writers thought the Buskin to be like the *seven-leagued Boots*, so famous in Fairy History, which enabled the Wearer to stalk over Seas and Mountains at a Stride. The Comic Poet proceeds upon a different Plan. Down He sits with a Resolution to be witty with all his Might, and crowd as many bawdy Jokes into the Compass of five Acts as his tortur'd Faucy can produce. But first the Plot—*Aye, there's the Rub!* Half a dozen Couple he knows are to be married; that is indispensable, but then it must be effected by
Some

some distant round-about Contrivance, the more to strike the Audience with Surprise. Some Lady is to be sent out a *Colonelling* in Man's Habit, or to leap out of a Coffin at the End of the fifth Act, and fall upon her Lover in blank Verse. These are Absurdities in some of our most favourite Plays, which upon the whole are well written, and make their Appearance every Winter upon the Stage with Applause. But what shall we say of that wild, unnatural Design of introducing a Gallant to his Mistress (the young Wife of an old Virtuoso) artfully concealed in a Crocodile's Skin, or swath'd up like an *Egyptian* Mummy, under the Notion of a Present to the Husband? Sad Proof, how even the greatest Geniuses sometimes can descend to the most ridiculous Trifles! I would be cautious of contradicting the general Taste, but surely the Business of *Plots* is carried much too far. We don't want to be surprized with unexpected Events, and kept in Suspence till the Poet pleases to unravel what he calls a Plot: The chief Aim of Comedy should be to exhibit the reigning Characters of the Age, and paint the prevailing Follies of whatever kind in a ridiculous Light. Wherever this is done successfully, the simpler the Plot, in my Opinion the better; for where it is intricate, the Personages of the Play are often obliged to drop their proper Characters, and talk inconsistent with themselves, merely to support a silly Story the Poet is working at. Another great Fault in our Comick Writers is the eternal Affectation of Wit upon all Occasions, however ill-suited and out of Place. This was the characteristic Blemish of Mr. *Congreve*, whose lively Imagination and Brilliancy of Parts made him too often run beyond the Character he was drawing. Wit may be very proper from the Mouth of a *Witwou'd* or a *Bribe*, but unpardonable from a Sir *Joseph Wittall*, or a rude illiterate Tarpaulin, like *Ben* in *Love for Love*: And however we may admire the Quickness of the Conceit, we cannot help applying the Censure of *Horace*, that *here it is out of Place*. One of the best Plays upon the *English* Stage, is the *Provoked Husband*: There we see no unnatural Strainings for Wit, no Endeavours to perplex the Story, no Drummers tattooing behind the Hangings, Lovers in Crocodiles Skins, or Ladies leaping out of a Coffin; the Design is simple and plain, the Humor genuine and easy, the Characters exactly drawn, and every thing so natural, that even the most injudicious Reader may apply the greatest Part of it within the Compass of his own Observation. The *Tender* and *Careless Husbands* are likewise inimitable Pieces, both taken from genteel Life, founded on easy Plans, and executed with great Success. I have more to

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say on this Subject, but perceiving myself got almost to the End of my Paper, I shall defer the remainder of my Reflections to another Time, and conclude at present with those Lines of Mr. Pope in his Epistle to the King.

*Observe how seldom ev'n the Best succeed,
Tell me if Congreve's Fools are Fools indeed :
What pert low Dialogue has Farquhar writ ?
How Van wants Grace, who never wanted Wit ?
The Stage how loosely does Astræa tread,
Who fairly puts all Characters to Bed ?
But fill their Purse, our Poet's Work is done,
Alike to them by Pathos or by Pun.*

AN ADVERTISEMENT.

WHereas several Empiricks have of late pester'd this famous Metropolis, and assisted by Impudence, the inseparable Companion of Ignorance, deluded many of his Majesty's sober and well-meaning Subjects by their pompous Advertisements, and supernatural Pretensions, to the great and irreparable Obstruction of Commerce, the no small Injury of the Health of Millions, and the infinite Prejudice and Discredit of that most useful, sublime, and almost Divine Science of Chymistry : We therefore having a disinterested Love for Mankind in general, and this dear Kingdom of Great Britain in particular, without any sinister View of Lucre accruing hereby to ourselves, take this Opportunity to inform the World, that, with indefatigable Industry and Application for the Space of forty Years, we have at length found out that inestimable Secret, which the most famous Philosophers have toil'd after in vain, of making the true *Sapo Mirabilis*, or Royal wonderful Shaving-Soap, to whose Efficacy no Description can do Justice. But lest the Malice of evil-designing People, the profess'd Enemies of publick Generosity, should misinterpret our modest Silence into a stupid Diffidence, we think it necessary to give this short Account of its most astonishing Properties. The first is the before unheard-of Effect upon deficient or disorder'd Intellects ; for in three or four Applications it renders, on one hand, the most gross and stupid, bright and penetrating, by dissipating the Fumes that darken the mental Optics, and exhaling the vaporous Moisture that damps the Brain ; and on the other, 'tis an infallible Cure for Lunacy, or the Malady of superabundant and undivided Ideas, by speedily reducing the Imagination soaring above the Flight of the Eagle, to become again an Inhabitant of this World, and to converse freely with
subter-

subterlunar Mortals. It has been remarkably famous in the first Case, for the violent Operation on City Aldermen, Justices of Peace, and Rural Gentry; and in the last, for the Recovery of many Templers and others, who had been Musferid for Years, and were thought to be gone beyond the Power of Physick. Such are its almost Divine Effects on the Intellectual System! Nor is it of less Efficacy in the Corporeal; for in the Space of four and twenty Hours, it cures all manner of Diseases, and (incredible to be related!) renders the most deformed and decrepid, comely and active, restoring the wintry Wrinkles of Age to the vernal Bloom of Youth. It destroys all Freckles, Warts, Wens, &c. &c. changes the most pallid Complexion into the most gay and florid, makes the reddest Hair become any Colour the Patient pleases, causes it to grow where there was none before, and totally eradicates it in other Places, where it ought not to be. In short, 'tis the *Elixir Salutis*, the *Aqua Vita*, which renovates, exhilarates, and perpetuates Life, never before discover'd, tho' sought after, at the Expence of immense Treasures, thro' all Ages, by Kings and Philosophers. This coelestial *Nosstrum* ought to be had by all Ranks of Men, whether Monarchs, Statesmen, Generals, and others, but more particularly by Valets de Chambre and Barbers' Prentices; for, besides all these præter-natural Qualities already mentioned, it gives a most excellent Edge to the bluntest Razor, the Operator the most dextrous Turn of Hand imaginable, and furnishes him with a lively Invention, or Memory for News to entertain Customers with; for the Effluvia arising from the Lather convey Wit and Knowledge to all by whom they are inhal'd, in so much that many of those ingenious Treatises upon Learning, Taste, Religion, Politics, &c. have been written by Persons, who could neither write nor read before they experienc'd the Power of this Divine Steam, which like *Promethean* Fire animates even Clay it self.

This truly wonderful and never-equal'd Medicine is to be sold only at the Sign of the *Flying Python and Mortar*, in *Hermetick Alley*, near *Apothecaries Hall*, London, at 1 l. 1 s. a Ball. To prevent Mistakes, enquire for Dr. *Alkaman's Sapo Mirabilis*.

N. B. The Doctor was the Seventh Son of *Grotius Van Alkaman* the famous German Chymist, by the Daughter of *Louis* the Fourteenth's Surgeon, whose Mother was Daughter to that celebrated itinerant *English* Physician Dr. *Green's* Grandfather.

PHILARETES.
The

SERTUM.

Miscueram varios hortu ridentis honores,
 Candida purpureis lilia mista rosis;
 Cum violis casiam, intextosque crocis hyacinthos:
 Quicquid erat formâ, quicquid odore placens.

Mane Chloe, accipiens redolentem læta corollam,
 Imposuit nitidis munera læta comis:
 Dulce simul spirans, florum ut superaret odores;
 Cederet ut florum gratia, dulce tuens.

Per totum tulit illa diem viridantia ferta;
 Et pastoralis vox fuit una chori,
 Non etiam intactas patrio tam dulce per hortos.
 Spiravisse prius, vel rubuisse rosas.

Quæ modò laudare 'st juvenes cuperentque puellæ.
 Vespere ferta levi depositura manu,
 Pallidulos sentit sine odore recumbere flores:
 Aura recens abiit; deperiitque color.

Tum mæstos, cum flore, in humum dejecit ocellos;
 Fluxitque in niveas lucida gutta genas.
 Prodebant tacitam satis ipsa silentia mentem
 Cum fluerent lachrymæ, cumque videret amans.

Diffimulans,

The GARLAND.

By MATTHEW PRIOR, Esq;

THE Pride of ev'ry Grove I chose,
 The Violet sweet and Lilly fair,
 The dappl'd Pink and blushing Rose,

To deck my charming *Chloe's* Hair.

At Morn the Nymph vouchsaf'd to place it

Upon her Brow the various Wreath;

The Flowers less blooming than her Face,

The Scent less fragrant than her Breath.

The Flow'rs she wore along the Day,

And ev'ry Nymph and Shepherd said,

That in her Hair they look'd more gay,

Than glowing in their native Bed.

Undress'd at Ev'ning, when she found

Their Odours lost, their Colours past,

She chang'd her Look, and on the Ground

Her Garland, and her Eye she cast.

That Eye dropt Sense distinct and clear,

As any *Muse's* Tongue could speak,

When from it's Lid a pearly Tear

Ran trickling down her beauteous Cheek.

Dissembling

Diffimulans, mihi quod patuit nimis; Ede, rogabam,
 Lux mea! gutta cadens, ede, quid ista tulit.
 Quis male mutatos casus turbavit ocellos?
 Quid sibi vult subitus, dic mea vita, dolor?

Ingemit; & misto mulcens suspiria risu,
 Gravior insolitâ cum gravitate monet.
 Aspice, (& ejectam monstravit dextrâ coronam,)
 Aspice quem casum quàm brevis hora tulit!

En modò veris honos! —Atque hei mihi! lege nitescit
 Veris honos simili, virginisqûe decer.
 Sol oritur; lætos ostentat uterque colores:
 Sol cadit; occiduum ponit uterque decus.

Mane novo, duxit blandæ ad modulamina vocis
 Stella læves, juvenum publica cura, choros;
 Vespere, mors clausit radiantia lumina: vidi,
 Pallidulisque dedi basia mœsta genis.

Quis scit, an his alius consurget Phœbus ocellis?
 Cras, herc præreptam, forsitan ipse sequar.
 I, Damon, mœsto dicat tua carmine musa,
 Heu miseram! nimio jure dolere Chloen.

Dissembling what I knew too well,
My Love, my Life, said I, explain
This Change of Humour, pr'ythee tell,
That falling Tear — what does it mean ?

She sigh'd, she smil'd ; and to the Flow'rs
Pointing, the lovely Mor'liff said :
See, Friend, in some few fleeting Hours,
See yonder, what a Change is made !

Ah me ! the blooming Pride of *May*,
And that of Beauty are but one ;
At Morn both flourish bright and gay,
Both fade at Ev'ning, pale and gone.

At Dawn poor *Stella* danc'd and sung ;
The am'rous Youth around her bow'd ;
At Night her fatal Knell was rung ;
I saw and kiss'd her in her Shroud.

Such as she is, who dy'd to-day ;
Such I, alas ! may be to-morrow :
Go, *Damon*, bid thy Muse display
The Justice of thy *Chloe's* Sorrow.

The

The AMOROUS REVENGE: An Ode to CHLOE.

I.

AH *Chloe*! cunning, cruel Fair,
 Why will you thus my Love perplex?
 To rail at Men, for Shame forbear,
 For Women the Aggressors are,
 And we the weaker Sex.

II.

Your Lips I own, I press'd in Play,
 A short and momentary Bliss,
 Hence all the barb'rous Things you say,
 And Storms and Tempests all the Day,
 About a simple Kiss.

III.

But *Chloe*, *Chloe*, well you know,
 And still alas! I feel the Smart,
 That long before I injur'd you,
 (Though, faith, I cannot well tell how
 You caught, and keep my Heart.

An HYMN.

PART I.

GOD of my Health, whose tender Care
 First gave me Pow'r to move,
 How shall my thankful Heart declare
 The Wonders of thy Love?

While

While void of Thought and Sense I lay,
Dust of my Parent Earth,
Thy Breath inform'd the sleeping Clay,
And call'd me to the Birth.

From thee the Parts their Fashion took,
And, e'er my Life begun,
Within the Volume of thy Book
Were written one by one.
Thy Eye beheld in open View
The yet unfinish'd Plan ;
The shadowy Lines thy Pencil drew,
And form'd the future Man.

O ! may this Frame, which rising grew
Beneath thy plastic Hands,
Be studious ever to pursue
Whate'er thy Will commands.
The Soul which moves this earthly Load,
Thy Semblance let it bear,
Nor lose the Traces of the God,
Who stamp'd his Image there.

P A R T II.

Thou, who within this Earthly Shrine
Hast pour'd thy quick'ning Ray,
Oh ! let thy Influence on me shine,
And purge each Mist away.
With curious Search let others ask
Through Nature's Depth to see ;
Oh ! teach my Soul the better Task,
To know itself and thee.

Teach me to know how weak the Mind;
 That yields to erring Pride;
 And make my doubting Reason find
 Thy Word its safest Guide.
 Let me not, lost in Learning's Maze,
 Religion's Flame resign:
 For what's the Worth of human Praise,
 Compar'd, my GOD, to thine?

Keep in my Soul the strong Delight,
 The Hopes that in me rise,
 While Faith presents before my Sight
 The Bliss that never dies:
 Oh! be those Hopes my only Boast,
 That Faith my whole Employ,
 Till Faith in Knowledge shall be lost,
 And Hope in fullest Joy.

PART III.

Where'er I turn my wakeful Thought,
 Unnumber'd Foes I see;
 Guide of my Youth, forsake me not,
 But lead me safe to thee.
 As on I press, Distrust and Doubt
 Dissuasive step between;
 While Pleasures tempt me from without,
 And Passions war within.

Yet fix'd on thee, I lose each Fear,
 Each vain Assault I brave;
 I know thee, Lord, nor slow to hear,
 Nor impotent to save.

Oh!

Oh ! cast my Errors from thy Sight,
And let them pass away,
Unheeded as a Watch by Night,
Or as a Cloud by Day.

So while, in secret Thought arraign'd,
O'er my past Life I go,
And mark how oft I urg'd thy Hand
To strike th' avenging Blow :
So oft shall my repeated Lays
My thankful Heart declare,
And joy to celebrate thy Praise,
Whose Mercy deign'd to spare.

LITERARY MEMOIRS.

The Life of the Emperor JULIAN, translated from the French, and improved with Coins, Notes, and a Genealogical Table. Printed for M. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-noster-Row, 1746, 12mo. in 346 Pages, exclusive of an Advertisement, the French Author's Preface, and the Approbation ; in which we are told, that this History is no less admirable for its Matter, than the Beauty of its Stile ; and that it will do as much Credit to Letters as Service to Religion.

THE Work before us has justly obtained a very high Character. The Author had observed, that among the great Princes of Antiquity, there was none more spoke of, and yet less known to Posterity than *Julian*, whom the Generality of Mankind have been taught to abhor as an impious Apostate, and whom a handful of People have been per-

swaded to believe was a First-rate Genius, opprest'd and defamed on the Score of his deserting Christianity. What this Writer proposes therefore, is not the History of *Julian* considered barely as a Prince, but his Life; and the Point he aims at is the letting us into his true Character, which he gives us at the Beginning, very fully, though in a few Words, by saying that he was not a very great, but rather a very singular Person.

The Life of *Julian* is divided into six Books. In the First, he shews his Descent from the Emperor *Constantius Chlorus*, the Father of *Constantine* the Great, and the Relation he stood in to *Constantius* the Son of that Emperor. *Flavius Claudius Julianus*, was born at *Constantinople*, November 6, *Ann. Dom.* 331; His Mother *Basilina* is said to have dreamed, when she was ready to lie in, that she brought *Achilles* into the World; and it is farther reported, that she was delivered without Pain: Circumstances that shew Flatterers were never wanting in the Courts of Princes. His Misfortunes began early; for upon the Death of the Emperor *Constantine* the Great, which happened when *Julian* was but just six Years old, the whole Imperial Family, excepting that Emperor's three Sons, who permitted, if they did not promote that bloody Scene; and *Julian* and his Brother, who were concealed, perished by the Hands of the Soldiers. It is said, that *Julian* was preserved by *Mark*, Bishop of *Arethusa*, who hid him in the most holy Place of his Church; and therefore the Christians charged him with Ingratitude, as well as with Impiety, when he apostatized.

His first Tutor was *Mardonius* a *Scythian*, who gave him not only a strong Tincture of Learning, but infused likewise a more than ordinary Severity of Manners. He addicted himself rather to the *Greek* than *Latin* Language, though he understood both; and the Reason was, because his Thoughts were turned to the distinguishing himself rather as a Learned Man, than as a Prince; by his Personal Merit, more than the Lustre of his Birth. He had afterwards many other Masters; but the Strength of his own Genius, and his vigorous Application, chiefly enabled him to penetrate all Sciences, and to become so universally learned, as he is on all Hands, and by Writers of all Religions, allowed to have been. But his Aversion for *Constantius*, who was a Heretic, a Bigot, and a Persecutor; joined with a boundless Curiosity which led him to delight in those Arts that Christianity considers as unlawful, induced him first to waver, then to forsake the Faith, and

and to become for a Time a concealed, and when he could disclose it without Danger, an avowed, and an enthusiastic Pagan.

The Jealousy which the Emperor *Constantius* had of him, and of his elder Brother *Gallus*, subjected them to many, and those very great Inconveniences; they were sometimes confined in one Place, and then suddenly hurried to another; they had the Attendants and Guards of Princes, but they knew very well that this Grandeur only disguised their Captivity, and that they were the Prisoners of those who seem'd to be the Guardians of their Safety. At last however the Scene changed; *Constantius* found it necessary to give *Gallus* the Title of *Cæsar*, in order to maintain the Eastern Frontier of the Empire against the *Persians*. He was raised to this Dignity *A.D.* 351, and *Julian* felt in some measure the Effects of it, which however instead of leading him into Luxury, served only to promote his Progress in Science, and gave him Opportunities of shewing his Generosity to learned and worthy Persons. But he avoided all this Time any publick Declaration of his Religion; on the contrary, he dissembled it to such a Degree as must always leave a Stain upon his Character. He took upon him the lowest Order of the Christian Ministry, read the Scriptures publickly to the People, and seem'd inclined to embrace the Clerical State. Those Arts did not hinder his being some way involved in his Brother's Misfortunes, whom *Constantius* caused to be deposed and put to Death, *A.D.* 354, and *Julian* himself was sent to *Athens* as into a kind of Banishment. At length however, by the Kindness of the Empress, he surmounted all his Difficulties, and the publick Affairs making it necessary, was the next Year declared *Cæsar*, and sent into *Gaul*.

The Second Book opens with his going into and taking upon himself the Government of that Province, where it seems *Constantius* intended that *Julian* should have acted but an under Part, and that remaining satisfied with the Title and the Household of a Prince, he should have intrusted the Command of the Army and the Management of Civil Affairs with the Officers appointed by the Emperor, who had also their Instructions given them in the same Manner that *Julian* received his, that is, in the Emperor's own Hand-writing, and with a Punctuality descending even to the minutest Particulars. But *Julian* very soon discovered a Spirit, which was neither to be fettered by such Instructions, nor misled by the common Arts of Courtiers; in short, he put himself

at

at the Head of the Army, if the *Roman* Forces without Pay, without Cloaths, and almost without Arms could be called such; and the very Year after he came into the Province, viz. 356, he gain'd several Advantages over the *Barbarians*, tho' the great Officers of the Army, pursuant to the Instructions they receiv'd from Court, abandon'd him with a very small Body of Troops to the Mercy of his Enemies, who besieged him in *Cologne*, the Fortifications of which he repair'd, and defended himself so resolutely, that the *Germans* were at last forc'd to break up their Siege. As he lived in the Field like a Soldier, and taught his Soldiers to endure Labour and Hardships by his Example; so in the Winter, when he might have kept his Court with some degree of Splendor, he liv'd with all the Severity of a Philosopher. In a Word, he was intent upon his Duty; and as the Love of Fame was his ruling Passion, so he had too penetrating a Judgment to mistake for it, the Applause of Flatterers; he knew, that to be esteem'd a great Man, the surest, indeed the only Way, was to be so; and what he justly conceiv'd, he steddily executed.

He carried on the War the next Year with equal Ability and Success; and tho' instead of assisting, the Emperor's Officers did all they could to cross him, yet he carried his Point and defeated *Chnodomarius*, the ablest Prince of the *Barbarians*, whether considered as a Statesman or a Soldier, in a pitch'd Battle near *Straßbourg*, in which he made that Monarch Prisoner. In the Year 358, he prosecuted the War with the like Vigilance, and at the same time he took all imaginable Care to discharge the Duties of a Civil Magistrate, he did strict Justice to private Persons, and was no less just to the Publick; and not content with avoiding every thing that look'd like Oppression in his own Conduct, he used his utmost Endeavours to repress that Spirit of Oppression, which reign'd thro' all the Officers who were appointed by the Emperor, and hinder'd their laying new Taxes, by taking Care to make such exact Calculations of the Expences of the Military and Civil Government, as very plainly prov'd the ordinary Revenue was more than sufficient to defray both. By these Methods he gain'd the Confidence of the Army, and the Affections of the People; and tho' the Soldiers once mutiny'd for want of Bread, yet he soon pacified them by Persuasions, and prevented the Return of their ill Humour, by speedily procuring Supplies from *Britain*.

One would have imagin'd that this Conduct in *Cæsar* should have been extremely pleasing to the Emperor; but the suspicious Temper of *Constantius* render'd him so jealous of a Prince of superior Abilities, whose Merit was universally acknowledged, that he could not help testifying his Aversion for him in so publick a Manner, that his Ministers knew no better Way of making their Court, than by detracting from the great Actions of *Julian*, and ridiculing his Person and his Manners. This by Degrees was carried not only to a very great, but to a very indecent Height; and tho' this pleased the Emperor, yet it did not deliver him from his Apprehensions: he took therefore a Resolution to put it out of the Power of *Julian* to do him any Injury, by sending *Decentius* into *Gaul*, with Orders to bring the Flower of the Army to his Assistance in the East. This Measure, equally violent and unjust, produc'd, as such Measures usually do, an Effect the very reverse of that which was intended thereby. *Julian* indeed submitted to the Order, harsh and injurious as it was; but the Soldiers, when they saw, that instead of being rewarded for the Service they had done their Country, they were to be carried out of it to the most distant Provinces of the Empire, from whence they could have little or no Hopes of returning, mutiny'd to a Man, and notwithstanding all the Resistance that *Julian* could make, proclaim'd him *Augustus*. This happen'd in *March* or *April* 360, when this Prince was in the 29th Year of his Age, and was then Consul with *Constantius* for the third Time,

How much Reluctance soever *Julian* might express upon his Elevation to the Imperial Dignity, in a Manner which had so much the Air of a Revolt, he determin'd however to maintain his Dignity; and in consequence thereof, wrote Letters to *Constantius*, conceiv'd in Terms very respectful and modest, but which at the same Time sufficiently express'd his Constancy and Firmness. This would have done him great Honour, if with these publick Epistles, he had not also written privately to the Emperor in a very different Style, full of Resentment and indecent Reflections, which Epistles however never saw the Light. He was, it seems, sensible that whatever Conduct he pursued, it would be the same Thing as to this Monarch, who might be brought perhaps to dissemble, but never to lay aside his Hatred. He was not at all deceived in his Notions; for *Constantius*, far from being mollified with any Testimonies of Submission and Respect, instead of acknowledging him for his Colleague, commanded him to lay aside the Ensigns of Sovereignty, and thought he did much

much in promising, on that Condition, to spare his Life. *Julian* despised his Threats, though his own Situation was far enough from being secure, and managed every thing in the Countries which submitted to him, as graciously, and with the same Justice as when he was only *Cæsar*. In one Thing alone he was blameable; for he not only concealed, but hypocritically dissembled his Sentiments as to Religion; for knowing his Subjects were zealous Christians, he celebrated the Feast of *Epiphany* with much Shew of Devotion, worshipping JESUS CHRIST in the Sight of all the World, whom he had long before renounced in his Heart. To secure himself more effectually against *Constantius*, who he knew was preparing to attack him, he made a surprizing March with his Army, divided into three Bodies of six or seven thousand Men each, from *Gaul* into *Illyria*; that is, from the Neighbourhood of *Paris* into the Midst of *Hungary*. He moved so expeditiously, that his Appearance was as sudden as the News of his Intention to the Officers of *Constantius*, who submitted on being thus surprized; but two Legions, more loyal than those who commanded them, being ordered into *Italy*, seized *Aquila*, and held it for their old Master.

Julian was somewhat embarrassed by this Event, which engaged him to remain at *Sirmium*, where he was when it happened. He acted there with much the same Caution, Moderation and Vigilance which he had shew'd in *Gaul*, only he was a little more open in regard to his Religion. He sent various rich Presents to the Pagan Temples, drew to him Augurs, Soothsayers, and Numbers of Heathen Priests, with whom he conversed intimately, and offered Sacrifices continually, that in the Intrails of the Beasts he might read, as he had been promised, the Will of the Gods, and what was likely to fall out in succeeding Times. His Devotion, however fervent or sincere, did not contribute to make him more easy. Amongst Sacrifices some were lucky, some unlucky, but most doubtful; so that he sat quiet for that Time, till an Express brought him Advice of *Constantius's* departing this Life at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, September 3d, A. D. 361, when he had reigned five and twenty, and lived forty-five Years. It is certain his Death happened very opportunely for *Julian*, whose Forces were far inferior to his; but there seems to be no Reason for supposing the Emperor poisoned by his Directions, though this has been suggested by a great Christian Writer. *Julian* set out immediately for *Constantinople*, and entered without Bloodshed or Dispute into the full Possession of the Empire. He gave Directions for bringing hither the
Body

Body of *Constantius*, whose Funerals he celebrated with Pomp, and even with Tears; but he appointed a new Court of Justice for inquiring into the Grievances of the last Reign, who called most of the late Emperor's Ministers before them, punished many of them with great Severity, and some with manifest Injustice; he dismissed also the whole Imperial Household, under Pretence that the Expence of the Civil List was exorbitant; but in reality, because he hated all who were about his Predecessor; and he not only declared himself a PAGAN, but executed publicly the Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, and made the restoring Paganism the chief Business of his Administration. With this Account of *Julian's* becoming the sole and undisputed Lord of the *Roman* Empire, our Author concludes his third Book, as he opened it with his being proclaimed *Augustus* by the Soldiers in *Gaul*.

There is a natural Propensity in all Nations to flatter new Masters, and to expect a happy Change of Times in the Dawning of a new Reign; but with respect to the Pagans, this of *Julian* had still greater Advantages; for after having so long sustained the Frowns of the Court, they were transported with the Thoughts of having an Emperor of their own Religion. This Disposition appeared in an extraordinary Manner, when the Emperor invited *Maximus*, a famous *Platonick* Philosopher, and by whom himself had been converted to Paganism, to Court; for in his Passage from *Lydia* to *Constantinople*, he had such excessive Honours paid him, that his whole Journey was a kind of Triumph. By his Advice the Emperor tried every Method possible for subverting Christianity. He in the first Place prohibited the Christians either to teach profane Literature, or to learn it. He tried every Method of ensnaring such as were about him, especially his Soldiers, so as to engage them to renounce Christianity and worship Idols, almost before they knew what they did; for knowing they made no Scruple of revering the Image of their Emperors, he caused the Pictures of his Gods to be represented with his own, that they might be revered, or as it was called in the East, adored, together. He took the Cypher of *Jesus Christ* out of his Military Ensigns, and restored the old Inscription *S. P. Q. R.* that is, the Senate and People of *Rome*, to which he added Images with the like View of engaging the Soldiers to continue their old Custom of saluting them. When he bestowed his Donatives, he had a Fire burning beside him, and before the Soldier was admitted to kiss his Hand, or receive his Money, he was to scatter Incense

upon this Fire, which was construed a renouncing of Christianity; but these Methods had no great Effect. He encouraged Divisions amongst the Christians, and did all in his Power to foment their Disputes. He did not indeed openly persecute them, as his Pagan Predecessors had done, but he did it indirectly, under various Pretences; and he suffered the Pagans to treat them with Insolence and Barbarity, with absolute Impunity. He pardon'd the *Alexandrians* for the cruel Murder of their Bishop; and he suffered *Mark* Bishop of *Arethusa* to be inhumanly tortur'd, tho' he had preserved his own Life when an Infant. These Instances sufficiently show the Temper of this Prince, and the Spirit of the Religion he had embraced.

At the same Time that he laboured with so much Diligence to overthrow Christianity, he took no less Pains to reform Paganism, and, if it had been possible, to fix it upon a lasting Foundation. With this View he connected Philosophy with Religion, and did his utmost to render Morality a Part of the Pagan System, tho' repugnant to its Theology, and absolutely unallied to its Doctrines. But what he chiefly drove at, was correcting the Manners of the Priests, and obliging them to teach the People Purity of Life, not only by their Discourses but by their Examples. He brought in the Use of Hospitals and other Establishments for the Maintenance of the Poor; and he had Thoughts of introducing other Parts of the Christian Discipline into his own Religion, without perceiving how much he exposed the latter thereby, or how strong a Testimony he gave by this Practice to the Excellence of the former. His Humours and his Prejudices had rendered him an Apostate; but his good Sense obliged him, in spite of both, to approve and admire the Morals of the Gospel. His Contrivances, tho' very well laid, did not in any Degree answer his Hopes; he drew over but a very few, and several of these declared themselves Christians as soon as he was dead. His Policy also in respect to his own System proved of very little Use; for either the Practices he introduced were so incompatible therewith, that they could not long be maintain'd, or the Shortness of his Reign hindered him from bringing to bear that new Scheme which he had formed in his Mind.

In Matters that had no Connexion with Religion he was certainly an excellent Prince. He was so far from being corrupted with Prosperity, that the enlarging of his Power serv'd only to render his Justice more extensive. He cherish'd Liberty, he rever'd the Consuls, and in Proportion all the Magistrates of the Commonwealth. He restored the Lustre of

of the Senate, and went thither to hear their Debates, and to speak his own Sentiments, not to dictate, as his Predecessors had done, more especially *Constantius*. There was nothing he dreaded so much as to be look'd upon as a Tyrant. There was nothing he desired more than to secure a free Course to the Laws, by supporting them with his Authority. He despised Money, not seemingly, but with Sincerity. He measured his own Riches by the easy Circumstances of his Subjects. He never thought of erecting fine Palaces, but was remarkably careful in restoring to their former flourishing State all the decay'd Cities in his Dominions. He continued to distribute Justice in Person, and he suffered Advocates to speak before him with the utmost Liberty; and, which was more extraordinary, he was willing to hear his Mistakes, and ready to correct them. There was one Point only in which he was always impatient, and it was that Point in respect to which Impatience is more a Virtue than Moderation. In short, he abhor'd the Sight, he detested the Speech of an Informer. Our Author, among other Instances, has given us one, which it would be criminal not to repeat. The Emperor was at *Ancyra*, when a Man charg'd his Fellow-Citizen with aspiring to the Empire; he disregarded him for several Days; but to be free from his Importunity, he asked him at last, *Of what Rank this Man was?* A rich Citizen, replied he. *Well*, continued the Emperor, *and what Proofs have you?* He has made himself a Robe, replied the Evidence, of Purple Silk; which was the Imperial Colour. Julian turning from him to one of his Officers that stood by him, Give, said he, to this dangerous Tale-bearer, a Pair of Purple Stockings, that he may carry them to the honest Man he talks of, to wear with his new Robe. But he was not attentive only to the Civil Affairs of the Empire, he was desirous also of giving a Proof of his Military Virtues. The Victories he had obtained in *Gaul* had rather sharpen'd than satisfy'd his Appetite for Glory; and this induced him, after remaining five Months at *Constantinople*, to remove his Court to *Antioch*, there to make the Preparations requisite for a War against the *Persians*.

The Author opens the Fifth Book of his History of *Julian* with an Account of his Arrival at *Antioch*, a Place that was fatal to his Peace, his Power, and his Reputation. He had flattered himself with the fond Hopes of making a much greater Figure there, than he had done either in *Gaul* or at *Constantinople*, but he found himself miserably disappointed; this City, which was looked upon as the Capital of the East,

was equally happy in a pleasant and fertile Situation. The Inhabitants were, as all Authors describe them, easy in their Circumstances, gay in their Tempers, loved Shows, Feasts, and Mirth; but for all that, they were generally speaking Christians, and the Pagans amongst them but a very inconsiderable Body. The Emperor fancied that by restoring the old Worship with all the Pomp and Splendor that suited with, and indeed was inseparable from the Pagan Rites, he should fall in with the popular Humour, and make more Converts there than he had done any where else. He persuaded himself also, that his great Affability and steady Discharge of his Duty in hearing Causes and doing Justice, would have the same Effects there that they had in other Places. He was however mistaken in both; the Inhabitants of *Antioch* hated him as an Idolater, and despised him as a Philosopher. They shewed more Attachment to their Religion when persecuted (as it really was now, if not by the Command, at least by the Connivance of the Emperor; for their Churches were shut up, many of their Ecclesiasticks imprisoned, several tortured, and some put to Death) than they had shewed Zeal for it in the Days of its Prosperity. To say the Truth, *Julian* himself lost all his Moderation here, and shewed not only a great deal of Enthusiasm and Superstition, but went so far as to become truly ridiculous. For not contented with frequent Pilgrimages to the Temple of *Jupiter* upon Mount *Casius*, and sacrificing there with boundless Extravagance, he fell into another Strain of Devotion equally inconsistent with common Sense, and with his own Character. In a Word, he celebrated there the Feasts of *Venus* in a shameful, or rather in a shameless Manner; he assisted at them in Person, attended by Troops of common Prostitutes and effeminate Youths; in short, he sacrificed to his Zeal for Paganism, his Regard for Morality, and his Respect for Decency; which was so far from promoting the Cause he thus espoused, that it exposed his Religion, and rendered himself contemptible.

He did many other Things here, that were by no Means agreeable either to his Dignity, or to his natural Disposition, for he ran into great Extreams, pardoning some against Reason and Justice, and putting others to Death, upon Pretences not reconcilable to either. Above all, he gave a Loose to that Passion he had, for enquiring into future Events; to gratify which, he is said to have had Recourse to the most detestable Methods, such as murdering innocent Children, that he might decipher the Designs of Providence, by in-

inspecting their Intrails. The Evidence of these Facts however, is not altogether convincing ; and therefore the Author very justly leaves the Reader at Liberty to decide about them. But the Pains he took to restore the Temple of *Apollon* at *Daphne*, is a Fact out of Dispute. This was a Place which in the Times of Paganism had not only been consecrated to Superstition, but to Obscenity. There was a Grove there, under the Shade of which were acted the grossest Impurities ; and it seems, these vicious Practices were not laid aside even after the Pagan Theology was disbelieved. The Emperor *Constantius* caused a Christian Church to be erected in this Place, and transported thither the Remains of St. *Babylas*. This Church very well answered the Emperor's Intention, but *Julian* resolved to distinguish himself, by restoring to its former Magnificence the Temple of *Apollon*, which stood near it, and had been famous for its Oracle, which however had been now a long time silent. The Sacrifices and the Prayers of *Julian* were for a Season fruitless ; at last, he forced his God to declare the Reason of his Silence, which it seems was his having an unfriendly Neighbour. The Emperor understood his Meaning, and immediately ordered the dead Bodies buried thereabouts to be moved, which was executed, only with respect to the Ashes of St. *Babylas*, of whom the Oracle complained. This done, *Apollon* gave Answer as before, and the Emperor as a Proof of his Gratitude and Piety, added various Ornaments to the Temple, and amongst the rest, he erected a magnificent Peristyle round it. These Embellishments however, were of no long Continuance ; Fire from Heaven consumed them and the Temple, and the deluded Prince tortured the Priests of his God, to fix the Imputation of this Fire upon the Christians, but to no Purpose. While he remained here he enjoyed the Company of a great Wit, a celebrated Philosopher, and a polite Writer, which was the Sophist *Libanius*, who is thought to have assisted the Emperor in several Pieces that he composed while at *Antioch*, particularly his Satire against the Inhabitants of that City, which he entitled *Misopogon*, that is, *The Beard-hater*, because the People ridiculed his Beard ; a Treatise in which there is a great deal of Wit and Vivacity, but which has been thought notwithstanding below his Dignity, and unworthy of his Genius. Here also he wrote his Book against the Christian Religion, in which *Libanius* is also supposed to have had a great Hand, some Parts of it only remain, which instead of injuring are serviceable to the Christian System.

But

But we must not omit mentioning a very famous and remarkable Transaction of his, during his Residence in this City, which shews the Malignity of his Heart in respect to the Gospel; and how far he was capable of dissembling, when he thought it might contribute to overthrow our Religion. It is certain, that he had no better Opinion of *Moses* than of the *Messiah*: but being perswaded that restoring the *Jews* to the Possession of their own Land, and rebuilding the Temple of *Jerusalem*, would go a great Way towards destroying the Credit of the Prophecies in the Old Testament, and refute the Applications of them by Christ and his Apostles in the New; he condescended to write a circular Epistle to the *Jews*, in such a Language as seemed to speak a strong Persuasion of the Truth of their Religion, exciting them to return to the Holy City, and promising them both Protection and Assistance in rebuilding the Temple. The *Jews* were caught by this Declaration, they resorted by Thousands to their beloved Country, and under the Auspice of this new *Cyrus*, they were indefatigable in their Endeavours to perform what so gracious an Emperor had commanded. While they were employed in removing the Rubbish, and fulfilling the Scriptures, by demolishing the old Works, of which they left not one Stone upon another, all went according to their Wish; and they met not with the least Difficulty or Interruption; but when they began to lay the new Foundations, a Fire broke out from the Earth, destroyed their Labours, and consumed the Labourers. They repeated their Attempts, but finding them ineffectual, were obliged to desist and to abandon the Work for ever. There is something very extraordinary in this Event; but besides the concurring Testimony of Christian Writers of the greatest Veracity and Credit, we have also the unsuspected Evidence of *Ammianus Marcellinus* a contemporary Author, a judicious and faithful Historian, by Religion a Pagan, and attached to the Service of *Julian*, to which it is impossible to give any Reply.

The Sixth Book opens with the March of the Roman Army towards the Confines of the *Persian* Empire, and the Departure of the Emperor on *March 5, A. D. 363*, from *Antioch*, to put himself at its Head. There is no Reason that we should dwell upon all the Circumstances of this Invasion; it is enough if we mention those that are most remarkable. At *Garrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*, a Place famous for the Defeat of *Crassus*, he sacrificed in the Temple of the *Moon*, and when he came out, caused the Doors to be sealed, and plac'd

a Guard

a Guard upon them, which was not to be dimissed till his Return. Those who entered the Temple under the Reign of his Successor, are said to have found a Woman hang'd up by her Hair, her Arms extended, and her Body opened; *Julian* having sought to find in her Liver what would be the Success of the War. Our Author relates, without affirming this Fact. He proceeded from hence to the Passage of the *Euphrates*, with an Army consisting of sixty thousand Men, excellently provided with all Things necessary for the Expedition, and constantly attended by a Fleet of Transports laden with Machines, Ammunition, and whatever else was requisite for reducing the strong Places of the Enemy. It appears from this Account that *Julian* conducted the whole of this Expedition with great Military Prudence, though he was surrounded by Augurs, Soothsayers, and Philosophers, who were continually at Variance, to whom he always listen'd, and whom notwithstanding he could never reconcile. He pushed on the War with such Success, that having taken several Places of Strength, and defeated the Enemy's Forces whenever he engaged them, he arrived within Sight of *Ctesiphon*, the Capital of *Persia*, while *Sapor*, who after the Manner of his Ancestors stiled himself the great King, kept at a Distance with his Army, and declined giving him Battle.

But being disappointed of the Reinforcements he expected, and his Army not being in a Condition to undertake the Siege, *Julian* was obliged to think, how unwillingly soever, of a Retreat, which for some Days he conducted with all the Prudence imaginable. At last, the *Persians*, by a Stragem which they had practised more than once before, drew him to make a false Step, very fatal to his Army, but more so to himself. A Man in Years, who pretended to be a Person of great Quality, deserted to him from the Enemy; and having given him a large Detail of the Injuries he pretended to have received from *Sapor*, wrought himself so far into Credit with him, as to prevail upon him to burn his Fleet, under Pretence that it impeded his Conquests. The Treachery was discover'd while the Ships were in Flames, but the Deceiver was fled, and the Army was forced to march with only twenty Days Provisions. They were daily harrassed by the *Persian* Troops, and in one of these Skirmishes *Julian* received a Wound by a Horseman's Dart, which grazed upon his Arm, pierced through his Ribs, and touched his Liver. At first he was not at all apprehensive of Death, but he was soon informed of the Danger he was in,

in, which did not at all disturb his Thoughts, or distract his Conduct. He made all the necessary Dispositions for the Security of his Army, and the Safety of his Friends after his Decease; and having taken Leave of them in a manly Speech, he called for a Draught of cold Water, and expired as soon as he had drank it. This was on *June 27, A. D. 363*, when he had reigned seven Years and a half from the Time he was declared *Cæsar*; three Years after he had assumed the Title of *Augustus*, and one Year, eight Months, and twenty-three Days, since he peaceably possessed the Empire. He was in the thirty-second Year of his Age, and was the last of the Imperial Line. The Christian Writers report many strange and prodigious Accidents that attended his Death; our Author repeats some, but lays no great Stress upon any of them. He observes, that *Julian* meditated a furious Persecution against the Christians upon his Return, and therefore acknowledges that his Death was a great Deliverance to the Church.

It is a Point of Justice due to this Book, to say that it is a very easy, just, and accurate Translation; and that the Notes which are added to the End, contain many useful and necessary Corrections, and discover a great Fund of historical Reading with Penetration and Judgment, at the same time that they abound with various Instances of critical and uncommon Learning.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS.

The History of FRANCE since governed by the House of BOURBON, together with her Political Views, Interests, &c. continued.

THE Care that had been taken by the Great Monarch *Lewis XIV.* for the Security of his Infant Successor and his Subjects, was just as ineffectual as the Pains taken by *Lewis XIII.* in settling the Regency at the Beginning of his own Reign; that is to say, the Duke of *Orleans* acted now the very same Part that the Queen-mother acted then; and by

by caressing the Parliament for a Moment, in giving them Hopes of seeing their Authority restored, procured their Assistance to the single Act that could enable him to operate upon their Powers at all. This Point once managed, and the Duke of *Orleans* being declared sole Regent during the Minority of *Lewis XV.* the Government was compleatly restored, since the Regent governed from that Day as absolutely as the late King had done. He began his Administration, as all able Princes do, with Acts of Lenity and Mildness, and with a great Appearance of Zeal for the Publick Good. His Plan for Foreign Affairs was the best laid, and best conducted that the *French* had ever seen; it is indeed probable, that he was principally moved thereto by the Consideration of his particular Interest; but whatever his Motive was, his Conduct was right. He steddily adhered to the last Treaty of Peace, he shew'd a Willingness to contribute to fixing a true Ballance of Power. He was so far from dissembling, that he laid open to all the World the miserable State that *France* was in; and certainly in this he acted like a great Politician; for on the one hand, it justified his Measures at Home, and on the other, it gain'd him Credit abroad; for by delivering her Neighbours from the Fear of *France*, he brought them to confide in his Promises, and he made use of this Confidence to re-establish her Affairs upon a solid Foundation. In respect to Domestick Concerns he acted with the same Prudence and Moderation. He erected several Councils agreeable to the late King's Will, foreseeing the Confusion this would create, and the fair Opportunity it would give him of suppressing them; and he restored to the Parliament their ancient Liberty of debating upon Acts of State before they gave them the Sanction of their Authority. These were all very proper as well as popular Steps; they served to settle his Authority, and to enable him to make use of it afterwards as he thought most convenient. He had his Views, as all Princes have; and he shewed himself a great Prince, by taking the Precautions necessary to fix his Power, before he made his Views evident, from his Endeavours to accomplish them.

When he had thus secured Peace abroad, and his Authority at Home, he list'ned to the Cries of the People, and established a new Court of Judicature, for calling to an Account such as had the Management of the Public Revenue in the former Reign, and were almost the only People in the Kingdom that enjoyed affluent Fortunes under the present. The

Pretence was specious; and tho' this Enquiry might be conducted with a Severity that border'd upon Injustice, yet it answer'd the Purpose of the Court, and did not give general Offence. He would have had Recourse to healing Measures in the Church, but in that respect his good Designs were defeated; and, as is but too frequent, those who by their Profession are of all others most bound to promote Peace, were those, who by the Authority that Profession gave them, hinder'd it the most. The Regent saw and understood perfectly the many mischievous Consequences that flow'd from the frequent Variations that had been made in the Value of the Coin during the last Reign; but what he most regretted was, that the People understood those so well, that it was impossible, as Things stood, for any Use to be made of this Expedient under his Administration. To correct this Evil, and more especially to set his own Hands at Liberty; on the 12th of *October* 1715, he published an Edict, in which he set forth in a very clear Light the principal Inconveniencies that attended this Practice, as well as the Advantages that must necessarily attend the remedying of this Evil, and fixing the Coin on an equitable and immoveable Foundation, of which this Edict gave Hopes, by declaring, that the Pistole or Lewis d'Or should for ever remain of the Value of fourteen Livres, which it was then at: But no sooner had this Edict produced its Effect, than the Regent issued another, by which the Subjects were required to pay their Money into the Mint at the Rate of sixteen Livres for a Lewis d'Or, which were issued again at the Rate of twenty. I mention this Instance out of many, for two Reasons; the first is, to give the Reader a View of the Distress of the *French* Government, and the Hardships it was obliged to impose upon its Subjects; and secondly, to give a Specimen of the Regent's Policy, which was of the same Stamp throughout; that is to say, he made no Scruple of professing any thing that might serve his Purpose, and acting with respect to those Professions, as if he had never made them. But this was only with regard to Transactions at Home; with reference to Foreign Princes he was cautious how he entered into Engagements, but was afterwards punctual in performing them.

It is impossible, strictly speaking, to justify such a Conduct as the Regent pursued; but one may have leave to say in his Excuse, that he found the Government and the Nation in a most undone Condition, with a Debt almost beyond Belief, since some have calculated it at no less than three hundred
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Million Sterling, notwithstanding some considerable Spunges that had been made in the late Reign. He saw that while the Government was in this Condition, it could neither act for its own Security, nor for the Relief of the People, but must be obliged from Time to Time to lay heavy Burdens upon the Whole, in order to give some Satisfaction to that Part of the People who were become Creditors to the Publick. This it was that induced him to listen to a Project of Mr. *John Law*, a Native of *Scotland*, and a Man of a peculiar Cast of Mind; who knew how to apply those Schemes of Calculation, which hitherto had served only private and paltry Purposes, to the great Affairs of a Nation, and the extricating a Government from such Difficulties as that of *France* was then under. The Patron and the Projector were as well suited to each other as could be conceived. The Regent, had he been in a private Station, would probably have been the Contriver of this Scheme; the Projector, had he been vested with the Regent's Power, would have had Courage enough to have executed it in its utmost Extent. The Colour that was given to this Affair was the erecting a new Company for carrying on a Commerce to *Louisiana*, or the River *Mississippi*; but the true Design was to pay the Debts of the *French* Government without Money, or with other Peoples Money. I mean by other Peoples Money, the Money of Foreigners; and this Affair was managed with such Address, that in the Year 1719 the new Company offered to lend the Government fifteen hundred Million of *Livres*. In the mean Time however the Regent had been obliged to practise so many Methods of raising and falling Money, of stopping the Currency of Cash, forcing of Currency for Notes, and constraining such as had any Gold or Silver, to part with it, whether they would or not; that he was obliged to stop short in the Execution of Mr. *Law*'s Scheme, and to drive him out of the Kingdom. Yet, after all this, and notwithstanding the Disturbance, Clamour, and Confusion which the Business of the Bank, the *India* Company, and other Expedients Mr. *Law* suggested, produced, the Government was a great Gainer upon the Whole, and a very large Proportion of the Debt was, if not paid, at least resolved into Waste Paper.

While the Regent was thus struggling to free the Government of *France* from the Difficulties it was under, occasioned chiefly by the long War carried on to place *Philip V.* on the Throne of *Spain*, that Prince committed his Affairs to an enterprizing Minister, the famous Cardinal *Alberoni*, who is still living; and who, instead of submitting, as former Mi-

nisters had done, to the Measures prescribed by *France*, struck out a Plan of his own, which he would have obliged the Regent to follow; and which consisted in recovering all the Provinces that had been taken from the *Spanish* Monarchy by the late Treaties of Peace. The Regent declared that he look'd upon this to be contrary to Justice; but it is certain that he considered it as not at all consistent with his Interest; and therefore, instead of promoting, he oppos'd it, agreeable to the Engagements he was under to the Imperial and *British* Courts. The *Spanish* Court, or rather the *Spanish* Minister, took this so ill, that he resolved to form a Party in *France*, and even to secure the Person of the Duke Regent; and as wild and extravagant as this Plot might seem, the Prince *de Cellamere*, then the *Spanish* Ambassador at the Court of *France*, took his Measures so well, that he was very near carrying it into Execution; it was however very critically discovered, the Minister arrested and sent out of *France*, some Gentlemen of *Bretagne* who were deepest in this Scheme lost their Lives, and very soon after an open War broke out between the two Nations. But as *Spain* could not sustain her self without the Assistance of *France*, much less against the Power of that Monarchy, joined with the rest of her Opponents, Cardinal *Alberoni* was obliged to give Way, the Crown of *Spain* acceded to the Quadruple Alliance; and it was agreed that the young King of *France* should marry the Infanta of *Spain*; that the Prince of *Asturias* should marry one of the Regent's Daughters, and *Don Carlos* the other. All Things being thus settled, and the Peace of *Europe* for the present restored, the Regent's Affairs wore a much better Aspect than they had done, and all the Powers of *Europe* saw with Surprize, but without Jealousy, *France* daily recovering its Lustre. This is a Proof that the Regent's Conduct was agreeable to the true Interest of the Kingdom he govern'd; and that he much better understood the Art of making *France* truly formidable, than those who affect at every Turn to make her appear so. But to pursue the Thread of our Narration, and leave these Political Points to the Consideration and Decision of the judicious Reader.

In 1722, the Regent caused his Majesty to be crowned at *Rheims*, and in the beginning of the following Year, he was declared of full Age in Parliament. The Regent knew well of what Consequence it was to preserve Forms, though he never meant by taking these Steps to relinquish his own
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Authority. By his Advice therefore, his own Creature and Favourite, Cardinal *Du Bois*, was declared Prime Minister, but did nothing but by his Royal Highness's Direction ; so that the Duke had still the intire Administration of the Affairs of the Nation without any Title or Office whatever. He was very well satisfied with this Situation of Things, but in the Month of *August* following his Promotion the Cardinal died ; and the Duke of *Orleans*, too prudent to trust any other Person with the Title of Prime Minister, asked the King for it, or rather assumed it himself. The Confusion that Cardinal *Du Bois* left his Papers in, and the delicate Nature of many of his Correspondences, obliged the Duke to apply himself with the utmost Industry and Diligence to the putting them in order, in which he was so indefatigable, that he sat up all the Night of the first of *December* 1723, though he found himself several times very near fainting, and the next Day in the Afternoon he died of a Fit of the Apoplexy, with great Projects in his Head, and, as many have thought, when he was on the Point of carrying some of them into Execution.

Upon the Death of the Duke of *Orleans* the Conduct of the State devolved upon the next Prince of the Blood of an Age suitable to the Employment. This was the Duke of *Bourbon*, a Prince of great Parts, surprising Quickness, and capable of much Application. He found many Difficulties upon his first coming into the Administration ; to hinder these from increasing, he pursued the Plan of his Predecessor very steadily ; but the People were not much better satisfied with him, than they had been with his Royal Highness, because the State of the Finances was such as obliged him to make various Alterations in the Coin ; he likewise pressed the Acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus*, both on the Laity and Clergy, which occasioned great Heats and Animosities, and while these continued the King, was taken suddenly ill, which alarmed the Duke of *Bourbon* so much, that he resolved to send back the young Infanta, who had been for some time in *France* with the Title of Queen, in order to marry his Majesty to some Princess of riper Years ; and accordingly his Majesty was very soon afterwards married to the Princess *Mary*, Daughter of *Stanislaus* King of *Poland*, which gave great Satisfaction to the People of *France*. But the Court of *Spain* resented this extremely, and demanded in express Terms, that the Duke of *Bourbon* should be removed, to give his Catholick Majesty Satisfaction, as Cardinal *Alberoni* had formerly been, at the Request and for the Conveniency of

of the most Christian King. This being refused, threw the *Spanish* Court into the Arms of that of *Vienna*, which gave such a Face to the Affairs of *Europe*, as differed much from that which they had worn for half a Century past. It was not long however, that the Duke of *Bourbon* was able to maintain himself in Power, and the Thing that turn'd most to his Prejudice, was the raising the fiftieth Penny upon all Estates throughout the Kingdom, which the Duke judged necessary for the Payment of the publick Debts, with which after all this spunging the Crown found itself charged. There are secret and dark Intrigues in all Courts, and perhaps there never was any in which these have always prevailed more than in that of *France*. If we could absolutely depend upon some Memoirs that have been written of these Times, the Duke of *Bourbon* was deceived, and outwitted by his Successor, who first very gravely and conscientiously represented to him the many fatal Consequences that attended the modern Method of paying or rather of not paying publick Debts, by variation of the Coin, giving a Currency to Paper; and then destroying its Credit again: By which he so wrought upon the Duke, that he resolved to abandon those Measures as unworthy of a Government; and then, the crafty Priest lay in wait to represent him as a public Oppressor. The Duke, in the very Edict by which he imposed this Tax, set forth the Reasons of it, giving a very fair and full Account of the Methods that had been hitherto taken in order to extinguish the publick Debt, their Consequences, and the Necessity there still was of raising Money to pay off Incumbrances, which stood the Crown in fifty Millions Yearly for Interest, tho' they paid but Two *per Cent*. When the Murmurs began about this Tax, which how just and reasonable soever it might be in its Intention, was to a People so exhausted, almost insupportable; the ancient Bishop of *Frejus* (so Mr. *Fleury* was then called) was the first to mention them to the King, tho' he had great Obligations to the Duke; and he did it in such a manner, and with the Addition of such Circumstances, that he who had always regarded the Sayings of this Man as so many Oracles, resolved to part with the Duke of *Bourbon*, and declare this Prelate first Minister; which Resolution was no sooner taken than it was executed, and the People, as is common enough in all Countries, applauded the Change chiefly because it was a Change. The Duke bore his Disgrace both with Patience and Dignity, and tho' he continued all his Life after a private Man, and had very little Connection with the Court, yet he quickly recovered his Credit with the Publick, and was

as generally esteemed to the Day of his Death as any of the Princes of his House ever had been.

As for the Administration of Cardinal *Fleury*, it is so well known here, that it would be needless to trouble the Reader with a particular Detail of it. He was certainly a very artful, and a very ambitious Man, without any of those Talents that are requisite to make an accomplished Statesman, or a great Minister. It was the Ascendancy he had over his Master, that as it originally procured, kept him so long in Power; as it was a smooth and complaisant Behaviour to the Foreign Ministers, that gave him so great an Interest as he really had for many Years in all the Courts of *Europe*. He was very disinterested in respect to Money, was very far from being solicitous about his Family, talked continually of Moderation, and was very mild and affable in his Behaviour; yet there were many harsh Things done under his Administration, both with respect to Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs. He had no settled Plan of Politicks, as appeared by his sometimes courting, and sometimes crossing the Measures of *Spain*. It was purely to please that Court, that he suffered his Master to enter into a War with the late Emperor *Charles VI.* but as soon as he saw an Opportunity of getting out of it, and of making so great an Acquisition to *France* as the Dutchy of *Lorraine*, he resolved to embrace it; and as he had sacrificed the Honour, and was very near sacrificing the Life of the *French Queen's* Father, during the War, so he made no Scruple of sacrificing the Interest of *Spain* to the Peace. The same kind of Temper was visible in almost every great Transaction while he was at the Head of Affairs. He made use of other Men's Abilities for contriving and executing Schemes that were above his Reach; but whenever he found himself pinch'd by those Schemes, he removed and ruined the Authors of them, to preserve or regain his own Credit, as is evident enough in the Case of *M. Chauvelin*, the Keeper of the Seals, whom he drove from Court, after he had made great Use of his Abilities. In respect to the present War, which began in his Lifetime, he was drawn into it by those whom at that time he trusted, chiefly from his apprehending that it would not be the Work of more than one or two Campaigns, and that the Allies of the House of *Austria* would be as passive in this War as in the last. But when he found his Mistake, and saw, or rather felt the Inconveniences that followed from it, he had Recourse to his old Expedient of shifting the Blame upon other People; but it was no longer in his Power to rid himself of them, as he had done of their Predecessors; Age, Infirmities, and approaching Death, obliged

obliged him to turn his Thoughts to other Matters. He maintained his Power with, or rather Influence over his Master to the very last, and, like Cardinal *Mazarine*, had the Satisfaction of dying, in all outward Appearance, as great a Man as he had lived, and even of appointing as it were his Successor. But the Arts he made use of to keep his Master in a State of Dependence upon himself, have had such an Effect on all the Measures of the Court of *Versailles* since his Death, that it has been a perpetual Scene of Cabals, Intrigues, and Confusion, till Marshal Count *Saxe* gained the Ear of his Master to such a Degree, as to give Law even to the Ministers, at least in respect to all great Points, which is the Posture that Things are in at present.

The END of NUMBER XXVII.

